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ABSTRACT

Difficulties in language communication and in understanding cultural differences, values, and the structure of the family are a few of the topics included in this paper on counselor education. Teaching professional counselors about working with multicultural communities and the culture of newly immigrant communities allows them to function more effectively. Everyone has a filter or screen that includes stereotypes and prejudices, through which foreigners are viewed. This leads to negative behavior such as prematurely categorizing clients. This eliminates other possible data and results in failure to give legitimacy to the client. Recognition of the cultural identity of the client is a key factor in giving aid, establishing mutual trust, and allowing a more balanced relationship between the client and the counselor. Preparing professionals to communicate without filters of their own culture, as well as to decode communication from other cultures, is central to the training of professionals in this field. (NL)

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AFS volunteers and professional staff throughout the world are moving towards the goal of peace by stimulating an awareness of mankind's common humanity, a wider understanding of the diverse cultures of the world, and a concern for the global issues confronting society. They acknowledge that peace is a dynamic concept threatened by injustices both between and within nations.

In pursuit of this goal, the core of the AFS experience has been the promotion of relationships in which families, communities, groups and maturing young persons from different cultural backgrounds share new learning situations related to the purposes of AFS. In addition, through experience and experimentation, AFS has developed and continues to encourage new models and opportunities for exchange that will be beneficial for the development of society.

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Editors' Introduction

As part of our continuing efforts to bring to the readers of AFS's **Occasional Papers in Intercultural Learning** the work of authors from around the world, we are very happy to present herein an article about French social workers and their migrant clients. Our author, Margalit Cohen-Emerique, holds a doctorate in psychology and is an associate of the Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale Appliquée [Laboratory of Applied Social Psychology] of Université Paris V. She is a researcher as well as a trainer in intercultural relations and communication serving a varied clientele. Born in Tunisia to a Jewish family, she migrated to Israel at age 18, working for seven years on a kibbutz as a nursery school teacher and 10 years in Jerusalem as a clinical psychologist in the Ministry of Health. She later migrated to France, where she has lived for 17 years. Our author has an understanding of migration as an insider through her own experience, as an outsider through her contact in Israel with immigrants from all countries of the world, as a professional through her work treating clients with adjustment problems, and now as a trainer of social workers. French readers will be able to find this article in the original French in a new, two-volume work sponsored by the Laboratoire de Psychologie Social Appliquée, Section problèmes de culture (under the direction of Prof. Carmel Camilleri), edited by Dr. Cohen-Emerique: **L'Interculturel, de la Théorie à la Pratique** (Paris: Editeur l'Harmattan, forthcoming 1988).

This issue marks the first time that the editors of this series have published a translated article. We sincerely hope that we have done justice to Dr. Cohen-Emerique, whose article is fascinating and moving in its original French. As in any translation, there are unique phrases and images that are obscured, but we hope at least to have conveyed the author's intent and tone. An important consideration in our editing of the translation was to preserve as much as possible the rhetorical characteristics of the original French version.

With this number we announce a change in the name and the mission of our department of AFS Intercultural Programs. As of September, we became **The AFS Center for the Study of Intercultural Learning.** This change was made to emphasize that our work includes all aspects of intercultural learning, not only those with immediate import for AFS programs. Our new identity and mission give us greater flexibility to work with other professionals in common research and educational efforts aimed at understanding and improving intercultural learning.

French Social Workers and Their Migrant Clients: Recognizing Cultural and Class Roles in Social Work

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Translated from the French by
Bettina Hansel and Alice Starr

Difficulties in Communication and Understanding

Social workers dealing with migrant populations are faced with various problems. First of all, they encounter misunderstandings and miscommunication with clients of this type whose knowledge of the French language is not very good. Often, from their first meeting, and despite the apparent understanding of each others' words, the social worker is shocked by the client's unexpected or "strange" manner and style of relating to others, and feels uncomfortable: like the social worker who finds an entire Vietnamese family sitting in front of her, smiling and waiting, without explaining the purpose of their visit.

Secondly, social workers are left with numerous questions about how to evaluate the needs, requests, and problems of this population, keeping in mind that their own past judgments and actions in terms of helping these migrants may have been inadequate or inappropriate or even worse than no help at all: like, for example, the social worker whose efforts to support a North African adolescent's rebellion against her oppressive family situation led to the misguided and poorly thought-out intervention of placing her in a group home, which rarely brings about the desired autonomy or independence in an adolescent. Or another, who, in the interest of the child's well-being, set up a long-term foster placement for a new-born who would first be cared for by pediatricians and then placed in nurseries or in foster families, when, to a great extent, such placements have been shown to be unjustified and can bring about psychological problems for the child and weaken his family ties.[1] Or, then again, the social worker who took some action to improve the social or educational level

of a patriarchal migrant family without consulting with or involving the father (who, because he was not present, was seen as having "abandoned" the family) and ended up reinforcing the alienation of the family rather than removing it, at least in the area in which the action was taken.

Social workers generally attribute these difficulties to their own ignorance of the native cultures of their clients, an ignorance that does not allow them to take into account in their decisions all the basic elements of the situations in which these people's existence, their family and social relations, their roles and their status, have substance and meaning. They realize that the foreigner arriving in the host country brings with him his "cultural baggage" that has shaped not only his image of family roles and his rules concerning social behavior, but also his feelings, his attitudes about the body, about space and time, and so forth. His home culture is deeply anchored in him in the form of his attitudes, his lifestyle, his beliefs, and his values, even while he may deny its importance to him.

And so, social workers believe it is useful to learn some of the cultural specifics of the migrant communities with which they work. Some have even gone so far as to study their clients' mother tongues (Arabic in particular).

The Importance of Understanding the Migrant Culture

We can only encourage this interest in learning, this effort to understand, and generally any ethnological or anthropological curiosity that provides an opening to the world and shows the relativity of one's own ways of seeing and behaving.

Too often still, as we have noted in the stages of training, the social worker doesn't seek any information, even if he or she presumes that certain behaviors, attitudes, and customs are culturally based: like the prevention team faced with the case of a Moroccan family who gave one of their daughters to be raised by relatives. The team wondered about it for months without asking or trying to find out if this was a question of normal behavior in Moroccan culture or a case of parental rejection of the child, whereas in other areas of the couple's life, the practitioners had developed a great curiosity.

And yet one of the first sources of information can be the migrant himself. The interest that you show in his culture, his country, his village, his customs, his household and religious objects is not something to which he is indifferent. Just the opposite; he will be very touched by it, and this will be as important to him as if he had received some concrete assistance. You will have gained not only a more

sincere and deeper trust, but also a more balanced relationship in which the migrant is not only the one who receives but also the one who gives something by helping you know and understand the culture that is the fabric of his social identity. And even if he doesn't know much about his own customs, even if he can only respond in broken French, "that's what we do at home," what he expresses to the social worker is a part of himself, his habits, and his traditions with all the attachment and meaning that these things evoke in him. He affirms his roots and his history, and beyond all the incidents and events in his own life, his memory operates in a collective, historical, and symbolic dimension in which he can feel a sense of belonging, self-esteem, and dignity.

In short, in asking him for information and in being interested in him, the social worker allows the client to give of himself, and to present his identity. It is in this sense that you need to understand the invitations to dinners and parties, and the gifts that so often are a source of shock and discomfort for professionals.[2] The migrant, in offering a gift in exchange for the services he has received, regains some self-esteem, dignity, and control. The professional, in receiving the gift, enters into the cultural code of social exchanges that is engraved in the deepest recesses of the client's being and recognizes his social dimension as being valuable and understandable. And if the client cannot or will not express himself, it always will be possible to find an informant within his circle of friends or associates.

This acceptance and recognition of the person in all his dimensions -- psychological, cultural, social, and historical -- is fundamental in social work. This idea will be further developed in a later section.

Inadequacies and Pitfalls in the Notion of Cultural Origins

But to blame difficulties in communication and understanding on ignorance about specific cultural traits seems inadequate at best and dangerous at worst for three reasons:

1. Cultural Identity: A Complex Notion

The idea of the culture of origin is too large a concept, and boils down, if it is not differentiated by function, into multiple attributes that characterize persons and groups: attributes of a nation, an ethnic group, a region, a religion, a rural or urban environment, a majority or minority group existing in the country of origin, and so on. A H'mong refugee from the high plateaus of Viet

Nam cannot be confused with an urban, Chinese Vietnamese; a Kabyle Algerian cannot be lumped with an Arab Algerian, while the latter, at the same time, differs from a French Muslim. While these share some common characteristics attributable to Algeria, to Islam, or to the Maghreb, such things as their ethnicity, the ancient (or recent) history of their group, and their political situation with respect to the host and home countries all distinguish their cultural identity, and must be taken into account in speaking about the culture of origin.

We are reminded that the individual is never passive in his cultural adaptation. As a function of multiple factors, he manipulates, prioritizes, and categorizes his multiple attributes in a unique fashion and always has a dynamic personal interpretation, even in creating cultural models. In him we recognize immediately the complex duality of all identity: to be at the same time like others yet different.

In fact, even while in the home country the migrant would have had a more or less intense contact with Western culture. He would already have seen a cultural evolution or acculturation in his own country, which would be particularly strong for migrants coming from formerly colonized countries where the French influence has been preponderant. And certain French patterns, even those conflicting with the original culture, will have already been adopted by a portion of the population in the former colony. We should remember the classic works of F. Fannon and A. Memni on the psychology of the colonized people, who have internalized the values of the colonial power and alienated themselves from their own kind, who either ignore or scorn them.[3] Similarly, we note the numerous studies of the acculturation process in developing countries, showing that such change is a complex process where individual members of the society, and varying groups of people within it, both borrow and resist the models set by the industrialized societies, depending on a wide variety of factors.[4]

In fact, for the social worker, it is as much a matter of knowing the migrant family's culture of origin as it is of researching the transitions, setbacks, and ambivalence of the migrant in his acculturation process in order to avoid an approach that identifies the migrant as either totally influenced by the culture of origin or totally influenced by the culture of the host country, which projects a one-dimensional identity on the migrant.

2. Identity Tied to the Migration Situation

The migrant has a specific identity in relation to the migration itself and its multiple dimensions: economic, social, political, and psychological. Some of these dimensions are discussed below:

The dream and the decision to emigrate. First of all, it is the plans and dreams for emigration that led the migrant to decide to leave his country, his village, and his family. He has invested so much hope, and made so many sacrifices to realize his plans. The decision to migrate merges his present with his future and the future of his family and gives him a solution to the worries and pressures of his family and home community. Leaving the home country is an individual action taken by the strong who are consumed with a passion for progress. These are different people from those who remain at home, incapable of taking on such an adventure. As U.S. President John F. Kennedy, himself the son of an Irish immigrant, wrote: "Little is more extraordinary than the decision to migrate, little more extraordinary than the accumulation of emotions and thoughts which finally leads a family to say farewell to a community where it has lived for centuries, to abandon old ties and familiar landmarks, and to sail across dark seas to a strange land."[5]

In his book, **La Mal Vie** [The Bad Life], Tony Laine, through the interviews he has gathered with Algerian emigrants, puts the spotlight on their spirit and their energy: "They want to write the saga of the immigrants so that their sacrifices will go down in the pinnacles of history. Future history books will tell of the glory and suffering of an entire people in exodus."[6]

We emphasize these dynamic and creative aspects because the usual depiction of immigrants is quite different; they are usually seen as people with problems, who have failed in their own country and are looking elsewhere for that which they could not find with their own resources because they are among the most deprived. But even though there was an individual decision, based on strong motivation and an incredible will to change, it is still inaccurate to view this decision solely at the level of the individual. It needs to be seen in its historical, political, and economic context in order to understand the strong external forces that lead to it (for example, the granting of independence to former colonies, the economic boom of the 1960s in Western countries, and the political and social impoverishment of some regions).

At the same time, the emigration plan is not made solely for the purpose of accumulating material goods, as we often hear: "They have come to earn a living, to better their economic situation, to get rich." Here too, you risk labeling the migrant with an alienating stereotype if you do not integrate his emigration plan, his enormous hope for change, and the opening of multiple opportunties for him. So many books and films have described the dream of migrants around the world of seeking in a new country the "Promised Land" where prosperity, happiness, and social position are readily available, a dream sustained by their compatriots returing home for a visit.

Improving his economic situation and attaining a certain standard of living allows him to climb the social ladder, that is, to attain respect and prestige for himself and his (extended) family in his own country first of all, then in the new country, where in reality he will never be fully accepted, but merely tolerated. The car filled with all the presents that the migrant takes back on vacations to the home country is a symbol of success that brings him prestige; the monthly check sent to the family back home is an action that symbolizes his status in his own eyes and in the eyes of others.

The dream of migrating is also the dream of developing one's talents without constraints, of finding one's personal identity by overcoming the limitations not only of poverty but also of the home environment, of the family, and of the social hierarchy.

In Western societies, a person can migrate within his own country because he belongs to a dynamic society where a person is allowed social mobility, and where the political institutions seem to be oriented toward the harmonious development of individual freedoms. But in countries where the society offers only limited horizons to the individual, the only solution is to emigrate. According to Selim Abou, the alternatives are "emigrate or die."[7] To emigrate is therefore to decide to escape these limits, to go towards opportunities that one knows exist even if these are inevitably exaggerated by one's imagination. It is to live independently, away from family pressures, from hierarchical institutions, from the clan, and from tradition, even if this means living poorly, very poorly.

A social worker frequently has difficulty comprehending these situations. How can one remain in a foreign country when it means leading such a difficult life? In his own country at least one would have a certain familiarity! How can one aspire to be an individual when in the host country one is strengthening ties with one's own traditions and customs? How can one live so meagerly as to request government assistance while at the same time sending home a portion of one's salary? These are the various facets and complexities of migration.

Here we can only insist on the importance of taking these things into account in our understanding of individuals. Often, when the social worker receives a request from a migrant, it is not only the specific problem he confronts but also the migrant's shaken or collapsed dreams and plans as a result of sickness, an accident at work, or unemployment that threatens his identity.

And even when it is a question of a crisis with the children (academic failure, psychological problems, delinquency) it is still related to his plans and dreams, because faced with the deceptions encountered in the reality of the host society, the loneliness, humil-

iation, discrimination -- realities that contradict his dreams -- one of his consolations is that his children will be able to succeed where he could not. This crisis with his children topples his hopes a little further and strikes a blow at his sense of identity. We note in passing that the concept of social success needs to be redefined to fit the context of migration in each community and within the framework of each individual's plans and dreams.

It is important to emphasize the fundamental role that the family plays in the process of introducing the migrant into the host society. Faced with the necessity and the desire to adapt, he turns to his family, which is the haven where he can find his place, his roots, and his sense of belonging in the simple activities of his everyday life as much as in his most sacred experiences. From this can be seen the threat to his security that is represented by the break-up of his family, by placing his children in foster care, or by his isolation.

Forced migration, loss, and mourning. For some, however, there are no plans or dreams of migration: political exiles, refugees, the Harkis[8] all left precipitously to escape physical danger or an oppressive regime. For some, there is the constant hope of return that only the passing of time gradually diminishes. For others, at the very outset it is a permanent move.

Without being able to go into the multitude of situations applicable to each community and to each individual, there is one constant: that is the traumatic uprooting where one is abruptly forced to flee, often under tragic circumstances, leaving family, possessions, social ties, and ancestral graves knowing that one will never see them again.

It is a sort of death that this person experiences, for himself and others, generating a genuine state of grief that can take years to work out.

We have been shocked in the course of interviews with French women repatriated from Algeria after its independence (the "pieds noirs"), who even 15 years later break down in tears telling of their forced exile in France. The dimension of mourning is a little-known aspect of migration, of which migrants cannot always speak, either because it is too painful for them to discuss, or because they are afraid of the reaction of their listeners since the political component is always present in this type of situation.

Adaptation to the host society. The many years lived in France with their measures of joy, pain, loss, gain, and change are at the source of the migrant's altered perception of himself and of the way in which he sees himself perceived by others. These are changes in his identity that do not come about without crises and without ambi-

valence, and that have been studied by numerous sociologists and psychologists.[9]

Though not unique to the migration situation, one problem of migrants that has received little attention is the problem of a family that is reunited after a lengthy separation from the father. When the family is finally reunited, this event is accompanied by identity crises because each member of the family has to readjust his role and status as a result of the new family configuration in which the father resumes his place and authority as head of the household. Social workers have often dealt with this type of family crisis, but they usually focus on the administrative and social aspects of bringing in the wife and children, and take for granted the concept of equality between partners in the marriage.

New networks for integration in the community. The migrant often asserts his identity by forming within the immigrant community new family and social networks that play no small role in the host country in terms of mutual assistance, social control, and symbolic reinforcement of cultural patterns and traditions. These networks also govern modifications and redefinitions of family roles that are an inevitable result of the integration process. Numerous films, brochures, and scientific studies have described these networks, including the regular economic and professional channels of immigrant workers, the get-togethers of North African women, the club participation and church attendance common among the Portuguese and Spanish, and finally, the mutual-aid resettlement networks among Southeast Asian refugees.[10] Of course, there are also immigrant youth movements such as the "Beurs," "S.O.S. Racism," and even groups of young musicians and artists. These networks constitute a complete social fabric that the migrant will either join or avoid, depending on his concept of integration in the host country.

The collective dimension is an important factor in the migrant's identity, but it is often either misunderstood by professionals or seen as hindering or interfering with the dynamics of their own relationship with the nuclear family. In fact, these networks have a very important function in the migrant's integration process, and can be used by the social worker both in individual acts of social assistance and in community assistance actions. This should be done cautiously, nevertheless, because some of these groups are not without their own ideology concerning an adjustment model. According to Oriol, the migrant's autonomy in the integration process is always partial and precarious; pressure toward assimilation comes from the schools, social services, and perceived advantages of membership in the host society; pressure from friends and acquaintances, and from the consulate is in the opposite direction, toward preparing for possible departure.[11]

The plan to return home. Another aspect of the migrant's identity, related to his situation, is his plan to return home (whether it be real or a dream) that is continually postponed to a later date. But this plan plays an important role in shoring up his sense of having roots, of continuity in belonging to a community, a country, and a setting, even while he feels himself to be in constant transition and a foreigner wherever he goes. These roots in the home country are generally planted in tangible ways such as building a house, buying land, making commercial investments. These become focal points for his energy even while everything else changes: himself, his home country, his children.

In short, recognizing and respecting the migrant in his multiple dimensions is essential in providing assistance to him since it allows him to feel that he is known as a person. It involves understanding, listening, supporting, communicating and getting him to communicate -- all these are key words in social work in regard to differences.

To illustrate this approach, here is what one assistant in the Social Services for Aid to Immigrants wrote:

> To understand [the Portuguese], to accept them and make them accepted, it was necessary to "learn" the culture from which they came and the conditions of their wretched existence in Portugal. It was also necessary to understand that their immigration to France was motivated by the desire to earn as much money as possible in as short a time as possible to buy a plot of land, a cow, or their dream house in Portugal. The entire family must work together to realize this goal. Children old enough to work contribute their salaries, the youngest by being eligible for family benefits.
>
> Helping these Portuguese express themselves about their lives and their plans, allowing them to say that their sojourn in France is "a necessary evil," and accepting and respecting the value of their motivations, will allow the social worker little by little to bring them to understand, then to accept the minimum requirements of French laws protecting mothers and children by using the family aid services for their children and themselves.
>
> At the same time, it is necessary that other social workers may "decode" the significance and importance of work and money for these Portuguese: though the words are the same, they do not represent the same reality for them [Portuguese migrants] as for us [French social workers].[12]

This last remark by the social worker on the importance of decoding the sense, the values, and the aspirations that constitute the world of the migrant brings us to the third reason for which the professional should not be satisfied merely with a knowledge of the culture of origin in his efforts to assist these people; he risks falling flat on his face if he does not also take into account the values and codes that relate to his own identity.

3. The Social Worker's Identity

In fact, it is not just the migrant who has a culture or an ethnicity. The social worker also has a social, ethnic, and professional identity. He is not culturally neutral; he is not outside of a social system. First of all, in all his diverse affiliations -- national, religious, regional, social class, professional level, and institutional -- he has internalized a culture and sub-cultures of which he is not always aware but which serve to define him and determine his relations with others.

Secondly, as a professional, he is a representative of the host society and the agency that employs him. He is always involved in the play of relations between the majority and the minority, the dominant and the dominated. This second aspect will be discussed later.

His relationship with migrants can be considered as an intercultural encounter, defined by M. Abdallah-Pretceille as "the interaction of two identities that give meaning to each other in a relationship that is not equal and where the value systems do not coincide."[13] In other words, in this intercultural encounter, there is not just the culture of the migrant that is important, there is also that of the professional with his criteria of values, his norms, his ideologies, his style of thinking, and his professional techniques of analysis, interpretation, and resolution of problems that will influence what he hears and sees, and how he interprets it.

All these factors can lead to biases or distortions in communication and in the relationship between the social worker and the client, and this will influence any action taken, as we will discuss later. These difficulties are not surprising, nor specific to social workers. We remember how much ethnologists themselves have trouble seeking out exotic truths, describing other civilizations and other people as they are, without any preconceptions.

To conclude our discussion so far: Besides a misunderstanding of the migrant's culture and the specifics of his situation, the social, cultural, and professional identity of the social worker can also be an obstacle to the recognition of the other person and his differences.

Recognition of the Identity: Keystone in Aid-Giving

Professional Foundations

In fact, nothing new is put forward here in terms of aiding migrants. These are the same principles K. Rogers set forth for casework: recognizing and respecting the person, his worldview, his value system, his needs -- in short, being supportive of him. This is an indispensable element in developing mutual trust, liberating the person's capacities for maturation and the integration of his personality for successful adaptation.[14] Social assistance demands that you do not try to impose a social model of any sort, but that you allow your clients to define for themselves the model that is best suited to their needs. Social work recognizes the value of the person regardless of race, religion, political opinions, or behavior. Social service must develop the sense of dignity in each of its clients. It promises to respect all differences that characterize individuals, groups, and communities.

More recently, Duchatelet wrote concerning assistance for socially handicapped families: "Be supportive of them to better understand them, without preconceptions, without projecting your own needs and value systems, without giving advice, without a prior agenda. The execution of a particular assistance strategy cannot ignore the families' mental framework. . . . Make a point to understand what the families are feeling and expressing themselves: isn't this a form of social participation and a departure point for better implementation of assistance strategies?"[15]

Here, then, are the classic formulas for social work, reflecting the ideal plan for social assistance. But as soon as it is a question of putting them into practice, the social worker generally runs into difficulties that are reinforced in the case of families whose needs and ways of thinking are even more different than families on the fringes of society. But the problem of understanding and recognition is the same.

From the beginning of their training, social workers have been sensitized to the basics of inherent difficulties, to all the subjectivity of their own psycho-affective involvement in their relationships and understanding. They have been trained to clarify their own feelings and to elucidate their projections with respect to the other person in order to maintain a proper distance. They have been trained not to identify too much with the client while at the same time maintaining a certain empathy that is indispensable to all understanding, since knowledge of another is always understood by the human part of oneself.

But social workers have lost the habit of questioning their own value systems, their models of behavior (especially with respect to the family), or their ideas about what people need according to their own social class, professional, and institutional standing. In short, they rarely pay attention to their own social, cultural, and historical involvement, which is to say that they ignore the relativity of their points of view with respect to these dimensions.

Our object here is to specify some of the filters and screens that endanger recognition of the other in an intercultural encounter, and are capable of projecting a simplistic, false, or even a negative image of the other person, and perverting the aid process. In reality, these distortions, while exaggerated by cultural differences, can also be found in work with people of different social categories within the same broad culture (rural environment, regional or professional subculture, fourth world[16]).

Filters and Screens

What, then, are the obstacles? We have already isolated three. The first involves the cognitive (intellectual) and affective filters of the social worker concerning his perception of the foreigner -- of the foreign in general and certain peoples in particular -- seen in various collective images according to historical, economic, and cultural contexts. The first impressions of the other person come through these filters, more often negative than positive. It is a question of ethnocentrism, stereotypes, a priori judgements, and prejudices. Of course, racism is always in the foreground directing the attitudes of one person toward the other, attaching a stigma to one in order to dominate him, or behaving aggressively, or tearing the other down to elevate oneself.[17]

The second type of filter for the social worker resides in his own models, his images of the family, conceptions of masculine and feminine roles, attitudes toward child upbringing, religious beliefs, and generally, his image of proper social integration. These images, inherited from his culture and his various subcultures (social class, profession, institution, certain social currents), all reflecting his personal identity, are his reference images: powerful, emotion-laden images that guide his professional work, providing him the key to decode the situations he encounters. The reference images, then, interfere in the process of getting to know the migrants and their children, and can be a source for erroneous evaluation, a source of one-dimensional perceptions of others and of pressure for their forced acculturation or even assimilation. All this is not helpful in working with the migrant. Such work must be built on the understanding of the person as he is, not as one would wish him to be.[18]

The third filter, paradoxically, is at the level of professional techniques and attitudes concerning the assistance relationship, but not made relevant to intercultural situations nor to subcultures and underprivileged classes. It is a question of observing and listening.

In fact, social work requires first of all that the professional listen to the person needing assistance in an atmosphere of confidentiality and respect, as much in connection with services or actions taken as common enterprises as in connection with the client's secret confidences. Nevertheless, if the social worker decodes the client's verbal communication in one way and deciphers his behavior in another, it is very difficult for him to listen to the migrant in what he does and in what he says, to accept him even in his defenses, and to look beyond these walls for an unstated and unrecognized dynamic. The social worker certainly listens to the client, but this listening is full of misunderstandings for which it is hard to discern the origin.

Misunderstandings Stemming From Professional Attitudes and Techniques

We should stop and consider these "misunderstandings" here because they can arise from the very start of the social worker-client relationship and may pervert it, even though the professional is sincere in his desire to help the person.

First Misunderstanding: The Emphasis Given to the Verbal Part of Communication

With professional social workers, dialogue is considered to be one of the most important tools not only in understanding the client and his surroundings but also in helping him mobilize his personal and other resources that are able to assure him a better integration to all or part of his surroundings. But dialogue, generally a very complex interpersonal dynamic, can be the source of even more important pitfalls in communication between people of different cultures in particular, even if they speak the same language.

The explicit verbal message is only one form of communication. There is another form, called metacommunication, that also varies along cultural lines. This concerns such things as the spatial and material framework in which the communication takes place, the way in which the family organizes its space, and its symbolic-religious items decorating the house (small Buddhist altars, rugs on the wall representing the pilgrimage to Mecca, mezuzah on the front door frame in traditional Jewish homes, and so forth). It is also a question of the parakinetic language: gestures, mimicking, "body language," relational distances, and communication rituals such as rites of welcoming and

hospitality (as, for example, the Turkish women who welcome their visitors by spraying them with cologne). Another aspect is the way in which a conversation is expected to unfold, and the selection of the proper moment to approach the subject at hand, the purpose of the visit. In many cultures, difficult subjects are not approached straight away, but after a ritual or much small talk.

All this metacommunication is rich in information because it reaches the hidden dimensions of the culture. Understanding these dimensions can contribute to an improvement in understanding the person's identity. Above all, the metacommunication with him, while implicit, is not any less important in the social worker-client relationship than the verbal communication.

But generally these aspects are misunderstood. They are not noticed; or if they are, they are not given the value they deserve because they are seen by the professionals as a hindrance to the agenda they prepared for the visit. In a desire to be efficient, the social workers, in their visits to families in their homes, have the impression that they are wasting time because the presence of the members of the extended family or members of the community, or the tea ceremony, or the smile-filled silences, or the small talk, does not allow them to deal with the problem for which they have come to visit the family. And yet, this time is not really "lost" because there is another form of communication taking place.

In the same vein, Preiswerk has noted that most "experts" on the third world use written information to a greater extent than oral information, and concentrate more on photocopies than on direct observation, thereby eliminating any use of their senses of taste, smell, or hearing.[19]

So from the very outset, the selective nature of the data collected "blinds" the professional to the hidden dimensions of the culture: its representation of time, space, rites of the body, relational distances between people, in brief, the modes of communication other than merely the information that is directly stated. Knowing that observation is colored by the mental framework of the observers, one can connect this pattern of collecting most information from oral or written language to a typically Western cognitive behavior.

Hall[20] has classified the different cultural styles of collecting information using the concept of high-context cultures and low-context cultures.

In a high-context culture, the larger part of the information is found in the physical context where it can be read in the symbols, tokens, behavior or other signs manifested by the person; while in a low-context culture, the essential information appears in the explict,

coded message. Our European society belongs to the low-context cultures where the explicit message contains the essential information. When a European belonging to the "low-context" group tries to communicate with an individual belonging to a "high-context" culture, he takes only the explicit message, and is not always aware that his interlocutors communicate more with silences, absences, gestures, and actions. This leads to numerous misunderstandings.

We have been able to gather some situations that illustrate these other modes of communication between social workers and migrants, where the former, after the initial surprise and discomfort, have seized in an empathetic fashion a "second type" of message without being able to penetrate its true sense. For example, a social worker received from his Moroccan client the hind quarter of a butchered lamb, dripping with blood, that he watched the Moroccan cut off from the carcass hanging in his kitchen. The Moroccan told him: "We're having a feast at our home, and you are one of the family." After his intial reaction of surprise and even disgust, the young professional understood the message of reciprocity, exchange, and social recognition.

Of course, this type of communication is not always clear or easy for the social worker to accept. This is particularly true in cases where the communication refers to unknown codes or values, or even worse, to codes that evoke values that are repressed or considered negative in the host society, and so are in direct opposition to those of the social worker.

This underscores the necessity of being sensitized to decode this communication, to learn to observe the most significant details as much in the grand gestures and symbolic or religious articles as in the more ordinary and familiar carriers of essential differences in the realm of the "microculture," which generally eludes the inexperienced eye.

Second Misunderstanding: Guidelines for Interpreting Words and Actions

Generally for the social worker, dialogue is not simply a tool of communication for "working through" problems in the psychoanalytic sense, but it is also used in a diagnostic way to understand the difficulties behind the requests clients make, either directly or indirectly, to the social service agencies.

From the statements, conversations, and actions of the client, the social worker attempts to find the causes and hence the origin of the problems presented.

This involves an on-going mental activity that consists of explaining, finding a cause for behaviors, and attributing it to dispositions, character traits, and/or situational factors. Social psychologists have called this "attribution," that is, making inferences about the causes of a given behavior. These attributions can be personal (disposition, character trait, mood, personality) or situational (chance, fate, circumstances). The attribution process is a phenomenon that runs deep in our process of social understanding as a way of explaining conduct in social interactions.

So a teacher faced with a pupil having trouble in school will make inferences as to the cause of these problems: specific learning disabilities, laziness, psychological problems, deprived social background, family crisis, and so forth.

Attribution is at the heart of the practice of professionals in a psycho- or socio-educative milieu who are charged with the task of uncovering the origin of the problems of those seeking assistance, so better to make a prognosis and develop the assistance plan. While theoretically taking into account the social and economic context of the client and assuring him a certain objectivity, their attribution process boils down in the final analysis to an explanation of human behavior where the individual is isolated from his social, cultural, and historical context. The emphasis is placed on the subjective determinants (motivations, sentiments, thoughts) of behaviors, and the predominant idea is that man can exercise some control over the course of events in his life.

In the case of subconscious motives, to make an attribution about the causes of actions (words or behaviors) is tantamount to psychoanalytic interpretation, that is, to the exposing of hidden tendencies and subconscious conflicts in the personality. A good number of social work professionals, inspired by the Freudian model, commonly make such interpretations from conversation or behavior in order to shed light on the origin of the problems presented by the clients.

Generally, all interpretation has a subjective and arbitrary dimension, particularly when it is a question of inferring causes for the behavior of a person from a different culture. This is especially true if (1) the interpretation does not take into account the social and material situation in which the activity takes place; (2) it does not come from the norms, statuses, role expectations, and affects that are attached as much to the object of this interpretation as to the person making it; or (3) it does not consider the belief systems and collective images of the actors involved concerning the concept of this person, his place in society, his place in nature, his relationship to the world and to the supernatural -- images that in every society provide an explanatory system about behavior, social interactions, and events, in particular, sickness and death. This notion of

an explanatory system can expand to include prevalent ideologies in each society concerning the capacities of man to control (or not control) nature or the course of events. This control can be situated in man himself by his efforts and aptitudes, or can be external to man through chance, fate, and destiny.

To summarize and simplify this complex and still little-explored subject of attribution in different cultures, it can be said that all interpretation of words and actions in an intercultural situation needs to be based on two principal ideas: (1) People from different cultures make different interpretations about the same behavior. (2) That which is perceived as important varies from society to society.[21]

Here are three examples to illustrate this question.

First example. A psychologist and a social worker made a home visit to a family from southern Tunisia for a discussion with the parents about their four-year-old boy (youngest of eight children) who had motor and language disabilities. (This child had a much lower than normal birth weight and several abnormalities; he had to stay in the hospital nursery for a long time. His difficulties were in fact due to a major psycho-motor imbalance.) In the course of this visit, the professionals observed a scene that surprised them. At three in the afternoon, when the little boy complained that he was hungry, the oldest sister got up and fixed him a plate of french fries. No one of the extended family gathered in the room made any comment about "spoiling his supper" or showed any other reaction to this scene. The professionals observing this scene attributed the behavior they saw to the family's inability to place limits on the child or make him adhere to rules. This attribution is based on their own norms that meals take place at certain times of the day, and that certain foods are eaten at certain times, according to the sort of structure set up in a nuclear family where the father and mother are the only ones in charge. They refer to a model of socialization for young children that places constraints and limits on their impulsive needs in exchange for parental love.

For these two "relationship technicians," this lack of limits could explain the little boy's extremely infantile behavior in his kindergarten. Their evaluation led them to believe that the child was dangerously spoiled, and caused them to set their goal to help the parents give more guidelines to the child, and impose greater limits on him.

If we were to ask someone of this ethnic group, who has taken a moment to reflect on child-rearing in this socio-cultural context, to attribute a cause to this type of eating behavior, he or she would say: "In the typical household back home, there are no rules about

fixed times for meals with family around the table, other than at the noon meal. The mother feeds the child at any hour of the day, and as soon as he is capable, he serves himself. As for rules, within limits the child interiorizes them, but in different domains that are considered to be more important for this society than meals at fixed times: respect for elders, family honor, etc." Another explanation could be given such as: "This child is the youngest in the family; he has been sick since birth. It is therefore normal to feed him well so he will be healthy. This is the concern of the entire extended family. We would not want to be bad parents, especially while we have French visitors who are inquiring about the state of our son's health."

Second example. A Moroccan woman, mother of three-year-old twins, explained to a school social worker the origins of the difficulties that one of them was having, saying: "I looked at my brother-in-law too much while I was pregnant with these twins." She explained that she lived in her husband's village with her in-laws and that her brother-in-law was somewhat the "village eccentric." The interpretation the school social worker gave her client's statement was that she felt guilty towards her husband because of her unconscious desire for her brother-in-law, or else that the woman rejected her in-laws because she considered herself to be better than her husband because of her urban roots. And yet a person who knows even a little of Arab-Moslem culture could offer this interpretation: "In this culture, sickness, particularly psychological troubles or mental illness, can be the result of supernatural forces: the evil eye cast on a person by someone who envies him, who wishes him ill, or by Djins (demons) or guardian spirits."

Third example. An Algerian woman, mother of a child placed in the charge of a Centre Médical Psycho-Pédagogique (C.M.P.P.) [Psycho-Pedagogical Medical Center] complained to the psychologist that her child was unruly and messed up the house, creating a very difficult situation for her especially when her husband came home with his friends. The professional interpreted this right away as coming from her sense of guilt and tried to reassure the mother, saying that it is normal for a four-year-old child to create messes. But the psychologist did not stop to think about it, nor to listen to what this woman was actually saying about her understanding of feminine roles and the importance she placed on the act of hospitality.

These examples may seem exaggerated but in fact they are actual recent cases illustrating the pitfalls that may be encountered when one tries to infer causes for the behavior of persons from another culture, without making any allowances for the relativity of these methods of analysis.

They reflect the use in socio-educational assistance programs of two "rules" or patterns for interpreting a person's behavior:

The first pattern consists of values, norms, and rules concerning education and family functioning, emanating from our socio-professional institutions and classifications. This is a pattern that also reflects dominant ideologies in our society, in particular the idea that within the individual are found both the causes for his behaviors and the capacity to resolve his own difficulties and take control of his own life.

The second pattern is formed by the framework of our scientific knowledge and psychological theories that furnish grand models of universal explanations concerning human behavior. But these models are usually generated from the study of Western populations and often only certain subpopulations (upper middle classes, students, and so forth). They are not tested by the study of other populations.

These two areas are mutually reinforcing: The theories give scientific legitimacy to the analysis of situations and behaviors while the ideologies are already intervening at the level of the selection of the given variables. Together these patterns form a limiting schema that resists change and imprisons the professional as well as the client.

The rules for interpreting behavior described above will have little value in professional situations where, in the interaction of two people from different cultures, one relies on his own system of attribution to guide the way he assists the other.

That is why it is necessary to be very careful to avoid ethnocentrism of social position, of cultural roots, or of professional identity when it is a question of explaining the behavior of culturally different people.

Before any attribution can be made about the causes for behaviors with foreign, and particularly non-Western populations, it is very important to place the person in his proper context rather than starting out by pushing him into a pre-established mold. In fact, a double measure of knowledge and understanding of the other person is advocated by psycho-anthropologists: first, understanding from the insider's (emic) point of view, trying to put oneself in the other's place and starting with his knowledge of his frame of reference; and second, making an external (etic) observation and interpretation using scientific concepts and theories.

These steps, approaching the culture from the inside while also looking at the situation from the external point of view of the professional, require thorough training.

Here we are insisting on the danger of using pre-established molds, not related to other cultures, to decode the words and behav-

iors of the client, because this can lead to two perverse effects on intercultural communication and understanding.

Two perverse effects. There are two effects of following established rules for interpreting words and actions, effects that subtly lead the professional to invent the other person without really listening to him. These two dangers exist in all aid relationships, especially in intercultural contact situations.

The First Effect: In the course of interpretation, the social worker almost immediately classifies or categorizes the client according to the presupposed schema, thus eliminating the possibility of collecting other data that do not enter into the course of the explanatory system, and automatically excluding other possible hypotheses about the course of the observed behaviors. For example, in the professional situations presented here, selective listening and observation surrounded the exploration of the client's feelings, submotives, or even subconscious tendencies. But in referring to the hidden meanings, the social worker no longer hears the message that carries explicit information related to images and role expectations, to values, to beliefs of the client, or even simply to the customs that prevail in the immigrant's original milieu.

The social worker is deaf, as previously we have said that he is blind, to all that carries the personal and social identity of the other person: childrearing practices and issues concerning food and meals as in the first example; traditional systems of explanation for sickness and psychological troubles and their cures as in the second example; the images of women's roles in the home and the importance of hospitality as in the third example. The social worker filters out in his listening all socio-cultural factors through which affective relationships are formed as well as the understanding of the other person.

Servais noted this process and its resistance to change when, in the framework of a training session, he called on marriage counselors to use a pattern other than their normal psychological one to interpret the dialogue. He found in them a very strong resistance to abandoning the normal mode of analysis in terms of suffering, sickness, and psychological disequilibrium of the individual isolated from all socio-cultural context, and resistance as well to advancing, at the request of the trainer, to another system of attribution and type of explanation, that of the cultural schemas reflected by the conversation. Everything took place as if "they could not give any weight or legitimacy to the patient's words, and so they are less interested in what he said than in the framework that tells the therapist what the situation is with respect to the patient. In this case we understand that the trainee group ignored the discussion of cultural disrupture that had been proposed to them."[22]

Understanding the client in his socio-cultural identity cannot be accomplished through parsimonious efforts at listening or observation of these other dimensions that our filters and screens tend to block through misunderstanding. But it does affirm the legitimacy, identity, and capability of the professional.

The Second Effect: In using a French mentality to interpret the words of someone from another culture, one assumes that the French language as it is used by the migrant or by his interpreter, from the standpoint of a communication instrument with the host society, carries the same cultural significance that it has with the professionals who hear it, which is to say, the same expressive value. In fact, two people can speak the same language and not understand each other because they do not have common cultural references. Each concept has an underlying significance tied to a different socio-cultural and socio-economic reality. In other words, the same words do not have the same meaning for different groups or subcultures. Not worrying about differences in meaning leads to a cognitive ethnocentrism that consists, in an intercultural situation, of attributing to a word only the meaning that one's own culture gives it. So expressions such as respect for one's elders, honor, modesty, and dignity, even though expressed in French, will hold a very different significance when spoken by someone from Mali, Portugual, or North Africa because they include in each of these a configuration of meanings appropriate to their own societies. These meanings are the backbone of an individual's identity. We could multiply these examples endlessly, with such things as the concepts of success, social climbing, children, parents, and so forth. This problem exists in all communication; it is only amplified in an intercultural situation.

It is only by being explicit in communication -- by clarifying with the client from the start, and gradually coming to understand as time goes by, the meanings given to certain key words that keep appearing in conversations, to specific expressions that are often colorful, to proverbs cited, or to stories and allegories told -- that one can penetrate the reference system of beliefs, values, and images of the other person.

As Bernstein has shown, language is a system of symbols that have meaning for a culture or subcultures (elite culture and popular culture) and that hold the beliefs, values, and norms along with the proper ways of expressing these things.[23] In addition, language can be a key to understanding the symbolic realm of the members of a culture and for understanding the meaning of certain behaviors. For social service professionals, it is not a question of extracting a passive meaning from the words of the other person, but one of bringing out the meaning with and for that person.

It is in this way that we understand the worldview of the client at each stage of the aid-giving relationship as an indispensable element to understanding and appreciating his identity. This is not to say that we eliminate in our decoding system the individual person who suffers, rebels, or asks for help; nor is it to deny the existence of an individuality in paying attention to the collective aspect. Neither of these two aspects should be emphasized at the expense of the other.

We should also guard against the narrow gauge of political explanation in social work. To attribute a client's behavior solely to the situation of his being excluded or rejected by society, to interpret it only in terms of political stakes, or to blame it on his poor ability to express himself, is also to not recognize the client as an individual. This is not to say that we ignore the fact he is dominated or excluded by others in our efforts to assist him. We will discuss this below.

The Negation of the Dominant-Dominated Dimension in the Social Work Relationship

The humanitarian rationale for social work in its goal of assisting others is above taking into consideration the notions of inequality in relations and domination of others. Yet these notions are present, particularly in the case of migrants, who by their social and legal status of minorities are seen not as the actors in that society but only as the consumers of services, a distinction at the heart of social relations between dominant and dominated. This exclusion from the mainstream of society, more or less accented with racism and the ostracism of particular communities, is not absent in the social work relationship, even if the social worker is convinced of his equality with the client, because in fact he is the representative of the host society, of its institutions. He has the mandate and is a member of the dominant group. The migrant, from his first contact with the host society, adapts himself according to this constellation of social relations, and all communication between him and the agents of the host society is infiltrated with this inequality.

But social workers trained to decode the message of the speaker regarding his needs, suffering, and demands, and in relation to his transferential projections on the social worker -- in a word, uniquely from a psycho-affective viewpoint -- will not perceive this dominant-dominated dimension that even so is present in many interactions. What a person says always reflects the place from which he speaks.

So the migrant will speak in a way that will meet the expectations that he presumes the social agency has of him. He is no longer the subject, "he becomes the object of the aid offered. He can enter

perfectly well into the game of the social worker and pretend to be a subject (according to the social worker's expectations) in order to be able to obtain a certain number of material advantages through the intermediary of the social service agency, that also benefits from these secondary adaptations."[24]

"Saying what the other wants to hear" and even rehearsing the speech are ways in which the migrant presents himself from the start as someone who has chosen to assimilate to the host society, which is in his eyes what the social worker expects of him. So we have, for example, an Algerian woman who stated in the course of her first encounter with a social worker, "My foster sister is French"; or a Portuguese mother explaining to a pediatric nurse, "I make French food for my children"; or the typical comments of the young second generation immigrants, "I was born in France; my education is French," or "It is the old people who practice such customs." When one looks further, one finds that the realities are in fact more complex. The attachment to the home-country identity remains still vital even while undergoing adaptations and rationalizations. Can we say that the clients are lying to the social workers? Or are they trying less to convince us than to protect themselves?

Why protecting themselves? Because of their minority status, because of being excluded from the mainstream often at the lowest ranks and being still too often the object of discrimination, the migrants are not really given the right to a genuine say in anything, or to speak frankly, at least in the first stage of their relationship with the social worker.

In effect, the lower one is on the social ladder, the greater will be the gap between the way the person must present himself and what he actually thinks or feels. The greater the person's rank in society, the greater his latitude to express his own opinions and the more likely they will be accepted.

As Bourdieu has stated: "The dominated classes do not speak, they are spoken to; they are dominated to the point of the images they have of the social world and their social identities. They are susceptible to becoming strangers to themselves."[25] And what can the migrant say for himself when he is part of a minority, an object of discrimination and of openly racist attitudes, as are the North Africans? He will either present a distorted identity (he is someone other than himself) or a negated identity (he does not exist).

If the migrants are exposed to the agents of socialization in the host country, can communicate in French, and are encouraged to speak, they would express themselves first of all according to the way in which they are supposed to appear, even going so far as negating themselves by reproducing a dominated-dominant relationship, even if

this is not the only one available to them in the host society. From the beginning, a hollow relationship is established where the two actors in the interaction operate with sham and distorted images; a falsification that is comforting as much for the migrant who protects himself as for the social worker. In fact, the latter often allows himself to be convinced by this speech because it is in agreement with his idea of "good integration to French society." If this is not his own idea, it reflects the model of the institution that gives him his mandate.

And so "the disjointed social work relationship" is established, defined by Barbier as: "all relations for the purpose of giving aid in which some misunderstanding results from the functional ambiguity of the institution where such relationships are established."[26] This misunderstanding plays the role of disjuncture because it interrupts the tie of reciprocal trust, of independence, and of mutual respect that, as we have seen, constitute the foundation for the process of giving aid. The ambiguity resides in the objective of social service in general, for which sociologists[27] have shown a contradictory dimension: humanitarian logic (that is, assistance, aid, mutual aid with respect to development) and social control (that is, normalization of the excluded, uniformization of certain diversities), the second dimension being generally hidden.

With immigrant populations, these ambiguities are glaring and take on a particular nature. In fact, Western European societies that have seen large numbers of migrants cross their borders over the past thirty years have set up governmental or private agencies to deal -- with respect, tolerance, and equal treatment for the migrants -- with their physical and emotional well-being in the areas of health, housing, job training and placement, and family and childrearing concerns.

But at the same time these same institutions and the governments on which they depend are too little or too late in their concern for the plurality of models that exist for finding and encouraging the responses adapted to the specific conditions and needs of these populations; they even allow exclusionary practices to be found on their own doorsteps, in such areas as housing, the workplace, or the school. We have touched here a bit on the fundamental ambiguity of the migrants' situation in the host country.

But what can the social worker do, who is merely a link in this chain?

For Barbier, who places himself right in the middle of institutional analysis, the response to this misunderstanding in the aid relationship is to show up this ambiguity in the institution, by which the ideal model of an aid relationship is transformed into empty speech. For our part, not being able to return to the realm of such

work for a debate of this type, we think that social workers have a role to play themselves even if they are only a simple link in the chain.

First of all, their role is to keep an eye on the practices of social work in the intercultural setting, with attention to the models for accommodating minorities in the host society and the power they have in decisions made. Secondly, they have the task of constantly clarifying the meanings and range of options available to the client, given the nature of the client's expectations and his inability to present himself authentically except in a true climate of acceptance. Another necessity would be to point out to the institution for which one works how inadequate some of its responses are to the specific needs of the migrants due to its biases in collective social action and community work. And too, don't social workers also have the role of mediators between populations they serve and those who make the decisions?

The Key to Understanding Identity: Time and Training

We have developed here some of the obstacles and filters to the recognition of the migrant's identity, fundamentally in the aid-giving relationship, the place of trust, and the respect of the listener. This recognition also demands two conditions for its development: time and training.

Time -- which cannot be economized because the difficulties that result from totally inadequate social or educational interventions end up costing even more later -- is essential: time for overcoming linguistic problems, time for explaining oneself, time for getting to know the client and making oneself known, time for understanding and making oneself understood, time to communicate to others dealing with the migrant about how to take into account their own identities, and finally, time to reflect on the proper approach.

The preparation for such complex psychological relationships in the multidimensional arena of populations from different cultures in particular requires a decentralization of one's own social, professional and cultural models and a penetration and interiorization of the other person's frame of reference. But at this point, the process of identity-recognition requires a prior sensitivity on the part of the social worker, because identity-recognition has not been fully integrated into the programs of basic training for agency professionals.[28]

Notes and References

[1] Research has shown a significant rate of hospitalization for immigrant children, particularly from the Maghreb, of which a large part are not medically justifiable, but no other solutions could be found to resolve the family problems (housing, overcrowding, the health of the mother). See Migrations; Santé: Bulletin du Comité Médico-Social pour la santé des migrants. No. 47 (1986).

[2] M. Cohen-Emerique. "Représentations et attitudes de certains agents de socialisation (travailleurs sociaux) concernant l'identité des migrants et de leurs enfants." Colloque de l'A.R.I.C., March 1986. Also in C. Clanet (Dir.), Socialisation et Cultures. Toulouse: Editions Eché, forthcoming 1988.

[3] F. Fanon. Peau noire et masques blancs. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952. Also, A. Memmi. Portrait du colonisé précédé du portrait du colonisateur. Paris: Editions J.J. Pauvert, 1966.

[4] C. Camilleri, "Crise socio-culturelle et crise d'indentité dans les sociétés du Tiers monde: l'exemple des sociétés Maghrebinnes." Psychologie Française, No. 3-4 (1979), pp. 259-68. Also, C. Camilleri, "Les immigrés Maghrebins de la seconde génération: Contributions à une étude de leurs evolutions et de leurs choix culturels." Bulletin de Psychologie, No. 347 (1980), pp. 985-95.

[5] J.F. Kennedy. A Nation of Immigrants. New York: Harper & Row, 1964. (p. 4)

[6] T. Laine and D. Karlin. La Mal Vie. Paris: Editions Ouvriers, 1978.

[7] S. Abou. Identité culturelle: Relations inter-ethniques et problèmes d'acculturation. Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1981.

[8] The Harkis are Arabs who fought for the French in Algeria and therefore feared for their lives after independence.

[9] See C. Camilleri's chapters in M. Cohen-Emerique (Dir.), L'Interculturel, de la Théorie à la Pratique. Paris: Editeur l'Harmattan, forthcoming 1988.

[10] For information on films, contact Interservice Migrants, 7 impasse Chartières, 75005 Paris. Examples of brochures are "Des immigrés et des villes" and "Les enfants de l'immigration," both from the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Useful research works are

S. Andezian and J. Streiff-Fenard, "Relations de voisinage et contrôle social: Le rôle des femmes dans les communautés maghrébines dans le sud de la France." Peuples Méditerranéens, No. 22-23 (January-June 1983), pp. 249-53. Also, M. Oriol, "Sur la dynamique des relations communautaires chez les immigrés d'origine Nord-Africaine." Peuples Méditerranéens, No. 18 (March 1982), pp. 116-127.

[11] M. Oriol, "Identité produite, Identité institutée, identité exprimée." Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, Vol. 66 (1979), pp. 19-27.

[12] M. Escribe, "Parole de migrants ou parole sue les migrants: Mémoire de formation de superviseurs en travail social." Report for A.T.F.A.S. (1979). 5, rue des feuillants, Toulouse.

[13] M. Abdallah-Pretceille, "Pédagogie interculturele, bilan et perspective." L'Interculturel en Education et Sciences Humaines: Actes du Colloque. (Toulouse: June 1985.) Publications Université Toulouse le Mirail, 1986. (pp. 25-32)

[14] K. Rogers. La relation d'aide et la psychothérapie. Paris: Editions Sociales Françaises, 1970. (Translated from the English, Counseling and Psychotherapy. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1942.)

[15] C. Duchatelet, "Nouvelles perspectives pour l'action sociale en liaison avec les familles socialement handicapées." In Sociologie et compréhension du travail social. Toulouse: Privat, 1980. (pp. 249-50)

[16] Fourth world is a term parallel to third world, and refers to a category of the population in France that is the lowest on the cultural and economic ladder: frequently illiterate, living in miserable conditions, with a greater incidence of multiple problems such as unemployment, housing, very large families, alcoholism, and so forth. In France there is a movement called "Aide à toute détresse quart monde" that attempts to help this population not with money but through empowerment and by giving back to them their human dignity.

[17] For further information, see M. Cohen-Emerique, "Eléments de base pour une formation à l'approche des migrants et plus généralement à l'approche interculturelle." Annales de Vaucresson (1980), pp. 113-139.

[18] M. Cohen-Emerique, "Choc culturel et relations interculturelles dans la pratique des travailleurs socioux: Formation par le methode des incidents critiques." Cahiers de Sociologie Economique et Culturelle (Ethnopsychologie). Le Harvre: 2 Decembre 1984, pp. 183-218.

[19] R. Preiswerk, "Relations interculturelles et development: le savoir et le faire." Cahiers de l'Institute d'Etudes du Developpement. Paris: PUF, 1975.

[20] E.T. Hall. Beyond Culture. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976. (Chapter 7)

[21] These ideas are gleaned from several authors: (1) M.H. Bond, "A Proposal for Cross Cultural Studies of Attribution." In M. Hewstone, Attribution Theory: Social and Functional Extensions. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983. (pp. 744-57) (2) R. D. Albert and H.C. Triandis, "Intercultural Education for Multicultural Societies: Critical Issues." International Journal of Intercultural Relations, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1985), pp. 319-338. (3) F. Ouellet, "Education, compréhension et communication interculturelle: Essai de clarification des concepts." Education Permanente, No. 75 (1984), pp. 46-47.

[22] E. Servais, "Pédagogie institutionelle et counselling: Jalons pour une analyse sociale d'une forme de thérapie." Connexions, No. 13 (1975), pp. 125-44. [The author attempted to train a group of professionals to study a case using a new framework considering the cultural values that undergird the words of the person (interviewed by one of them). The case exercise interview was one that, in the eyes of the trainer, could be considered as a manifestation of a situation in which there was a cultural conflict concerning the conception of the family. But the trainees interpreted it in terms of suffering, disequilibrium, and traumatization from childhood in spite of the attempts of the trainer to get them to use a different mode of analysis. See page 132.]

[23] B. Bernstein. Language et classes sociales. Paris: Editions Minuit, 1975.

[24] R. Barbier, "Situation institutionnelle et stratégies de rapports au client." In Dutrenit (Dir.), Sociologie du Travail Social. Toulouse: Privat, 1980. (pp. 163-75)

[25] P. Bourdieu, "Une classe objet." Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, Vol. 17-18 (November 1977), p. 25.

[26] R. Barbier, op. cit., p. 172.

[27] M.L. Lopez and M.L. Gillard, "Le travail social d'hier à demain." Recherches sociologiques, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1982), pp. 227-67.

[28] See Volume II of M. Cohen-Emerique, L'Interculturel, de la Théorie à la Pratique, op. cit.

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